/226 cont./

539 a few days old, they were already able to walk and knew how to make bows and arrows. Then they went hunting. They always brought home a great deal of tender meat for the old one.

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Fig. 5. The Indian village of Boróro, which stands between old and modern times. In the background, left, the old priest of magic with his adornment; the third man to the right of him is the subchief Ireneo, who is piously evangelical. Only in the case of the wife of the priest does one still see old adornment; otherwise all are in modern dress.

539 One time Cuarahy wanted to kill the wood hen, called jacú. But he shot three times and missed. And now the wood hen started to speak, for it is Guyrá Nheengatú, the speaking bird. It told the boy the story of his mother and advised him to kill the jaguars.

1: Hanke--17 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

/228 cont./

539 before that she had been a human being, and, to be sure, "beginning of the owl" (12).

12. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., p. 111.

The boys entered many houses in order to look for their mother, and all the people who lived there turned into animals, so that the earth became populated with animals of all kinds.

Finally they came to the house of the falcon and addressed him. Then, however, the mother's spirit, which lived there, joyfully answered. All three now decided to ascend to heaven.

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Fig. 7. Priest of magic with his wife. He has the poncho, chest bands with tufts of feathers, and a diadem similarly decorated; bracelet and lip-plug complete his official costume. The wife has a chest band with feathers and chains of seeds.

/27 cont./

304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

• 302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is [301] [192] [554] also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. [178] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

142 182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and [147] [482] [164] women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

2: Schaden--54 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Nandéva
Kayová

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I. Marçal de Souza, Nandéva-Guaraní from Dourados. Teacher and catechist at the Evangelical Mission, he collaborated with the author in the investigations of Mato Grosso.

II. Young Kayová-Guaraní mother from Dourados.

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III. Kayová-Guaraní women from Amambai, southern Mato Grosso.

249 /53/ Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukú or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová 386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on 822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, [178] including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick (takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the [302] pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his 386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an un- [184] limited time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which 222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of [221] food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked [177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira, [43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

2: Schaden--75 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

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VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambai, spinning caraguatá fiber.

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VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

2: Schaden--109 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/91 cont./

881 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent
302 is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it
301 covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits and in particular the odjépotá (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl makes -- for her father, brother, or another person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-kuahá, the Mbüá simply pó-kuáá. The Nandéva, who already have almost completely abandoned it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Pai Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, tetýmiguá and tetýmiguáá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guaraní" to be distinguished from other Indians. But they also indicate the magical end of avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the arms and legs, the tetýmiguá therefore being considered indispensable on long walks.

2: Schaden--168 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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XIII. Paí Viraliano, one of the religious chiefs of the village of Dourados, with ceremonial clothing and implements.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú*[1] (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *paʸé*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *aroeira* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[2] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takuapé*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takuapé* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[3]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapií*. The *tapií*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[1] Cf. Salkowitz, 1935, pp. 131 ff.

[2] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1943. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His contributions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1943.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 home-made product turned out today, these breeches have completely non-
291 functional strings at the bottom, below the calf, as if intended for use with (non-existent) stockings, boots, or puttees. The Cayuá do not even tie the "vestigial" leg strings but let them hang free. Men's shirts generally follow what was probably some former long-sleeved European model. They do not open completely in front, being only partly cut down from the neck.

Women wear sack-like dresses of store cloth, which may not be entirely different from the so-called *tipói* dress of aboriginal times. They correspond generally to the shapeless "Mother Hubbards." There may be some influence here from the dresses introduced by the Jesuits.

*177 Men's belts are woven much as formerly, but the material is now more often
*178 *caraguatá* fiber than native cotton—despite the fact that a belt of cotton is usually preferred.[126] In spite of the preference for cotton, however, practically
286 none of it is raised now by the Cayuá at Taquapiri. The laborsome use of
291 native cotton has been obviated by store-bought cloth in many respects other than belts, and the fiber of the wild *caraguatá* will serve the few remaining purposes of the domestic textile plant.

Caraguatá fiber is now used almost exclusively for making hammocks, although some informants insisted that the cotton hammock was preferable. Except for present tying of hammocks and weaving of belts, nothing survives of the aboriginal textile art, which supposedly had once attained a modest development among the Cayuá.

*178 Various wild fibers are still twisted to make lines for fishing and cords for
824 heavier purposes, but human hair is no longer used to make belts or wristlets
283 and anklets. *Caraguatá*, *pindó* palm, and *sakakadjá* fibers are the most fre-
239 quently used today.

*178 The lip stick, or *tembeté*, of resin is still in use at Taquapiri, and an initia-
881 tion of a number of boys took place shortly prior to our arrival in the village in
304 1943. The main feature of the initiation is the perforation of the lower lip for the insertion of the *tembeté*. However, Taquapiri is reputedly alone among the Cayuá villages of its immediate neighborhood in conserving this trait; the *tembeté* has been completely abandoned among the younger men of the village where the SPI post "Benjamin Constant" is located, near União. Even at Taquapiri, moreover, there are several young men, long past the age of lip perforation, married and with children, who do not use the *tembeté* for never
[825] having been initiated. Their fellows twit them about being mere "boys," and they are said to be in special danger from jaguars, but it seems likely that they are only the first representatives at Taquapiri of what has been the trend away from the practice elsewhere among the Cayuá.

*178 Face painting with *urucú*, a reddish plant substance widely used in South
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[126] One of the Cayuá women spied a large ball of cotton string we had and with considerable enthusiasm suggested making belts out of it, which they did.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusá* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbaraká*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain.

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cĩuĩ* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brasilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horisontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cĩuĩ* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cĩuĩ* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor.

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. *Yirafana*, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brasilian settlers.

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbaraká* gourd rattles, *tubuapé* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.146]

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FIG. 6. Recently fired *kokwé* with beans coming up amongst the fallen and charred trunks.

FIG. 7. In a *kokwé*, making holes for planting cuttings of manioc. Hoe is the heavy type universally used.

FIG. 8. Woman planting corn with digging stick (*surakwé*). Hole just made is at her feet. Four or five (but always the same number) grains are dropped in, taken only from middle of the ear. In the background, a bamboo grove.

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FIG. 9. Woman returning from clearing in forest (*kokwé*) with back basket (*adjaki*) loaded with produce. In her right hand she brings firewood, in her left is the worn-out machete she uses to harvest with. Note tumpline on basket.

FIG. 10. Four women pounding corn in combination. As many as five sometimes do this. The occasion is the preparation of *aluá* for a village-wide drinking fest to be held in about three days.

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3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.148]

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FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's foot is only dirty.)

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FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

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FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing headnet ("tip cover") of barkcloth resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Mbaeqüiri in 1948.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all are clothed.

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5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingué* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú.

At ceremonies, modern *Caingué* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingué* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingué*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatín* rubbed saliva from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery.

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The earliest literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingué* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

[2a] Today tubular bone labret also known.

1: Métraux--332 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4
Tupinamba 509

/466 cont./

Chapter XI

Combs

C 302 G T [302] Formerly, at the time when they carried out the conquest of their present territory, the Chiriguano wore a tonsure after the fashion of their relatives in Paraguay and the coast of Brazil, the Guarani and Tupinamba, who shaved the whole anterior part of the skull with a bamboo chip /467/ (see Métraux, 2, C [177] pp. 181-185) (1). Later, probably under the influence of the

1. Annuae litterae, page 407: "Cultus eorum singularis valde, coronis in modum nostrorum Sacerdotum utuntur, reliqui vero capilli ad ulnam circiter dimidiam pendent a tergo; corpora utplurimum variis depingunt coloribus."
(Their appearance [to the Chiriguano] is truly singular. They make use of a tonsure similar to that of our priests, and others let their hair hang down their backs to the length of an aune and a half. They dye their bodies with various colors.)

Chané or the Quichua /Quechua/, the Chiriguano abandoned the tonsure and let their hair grow, letting it fall over the nape of the neck and the back. They were content to cut it on the forehead from one temple to the other.

C 302 198 This hair style, still common in the last century, is tending to disappear in turn. The only ones who have remained faithful to it are a few old men and the inhabitants of several villages lost in the valleys of the upper Pilcomayo.

C [291] 248 The Chiriguano who continue to observe the old style knot their long hair around their heads and hide it under a hat or a kind of turban when they go to work among the white men, for fear of being ridiculed.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 314

GUARANI SM4
Mbaya SK11

A 302 [142 82] All the Abipones have thick, raven-black locks; a child born with red or flaxen hair would be looked upon as a monster amongst them. The manner of dressing the hair differs in different nations, times, and conditions. The Abipones, previously to their entering colonies, shaved their hair like monks, leaving nothing M [309] but a circle of hair round the head. But the women of the Mbaya nation, after shaving the rest of their heads, leave some hairs untouched, to grow like the crest of a helmet, from the forehead to the crown. As the savages have M [413] neither razors nor scissars, they use a shell sharpened against a stone, or the jaws of the M. [237] fish palometa, for the purpose of shaving. Most of the Abipones in our colonies let their hair grow long, and twist it into a rope like European soldiers. The same fashion was adopted by the women, but with this difference, that they tie the braid of hair with a little piece of white cotton, as our countrymen do with black. A [765] At church, and in mournings for the dead, they scatter their hair about their shoulders. Gu ● 302 The Guarany Indians, on the contrary, whilst they live in the woods, without the knowledge Gu [177] of religion, let their hair hang down their backs: now that they have embraced Christianity, and entered various colonies, they crop it like priests. But the women of the Guarany towns wear their hair long, platted, and bound with a

1;Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
GUARANI 514

Gu 302

piece of white cotton, both in and out of doors, but dishevelled and flowing when they attend divine service. The Spanish peasantry also approach the door of the church with their hair tied in the military fashion but loosen it on entering. Indeed, all the Americans are persuaded that this is a mark of reverence due to the sacred edifice.

A 142 302

As soon as they wake in the morning, the Abiponian women, sitting on the ground, dress, twist, and tie their husbands' hair. A bundle of boar's bristles, or of hairs out of a tamandua's tail, serves them for a comb. You very seldom see an Indian with natural, never with artificial curling hair. They do not grow grey till very late, and then not unless they are decrepid; very few of them get bald. It is worth while to mention a ridiculous custom of the Abipones, Mocobios, Tobas, &c. all of whom, without distinction of age or sex, pluck up the hair from the forehead to the crown of the head, so that the fore part of the head is bald almost for the space of two inches: this baldness they call *nalemta*, and account a religious mark of their nation. New-born infants have the hair of the fore part of their head cut off by a male or female juggler, these knave performing the offices both of physicians and priests amongst them. This custom seem to me to have

A [171] 302

A 302 852

A [71]